1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

in the first place the exigencies of nature: the flood with its opportunities for fishing and the pursuit of small game; the heat of the early North-West season when the grass-burning will go forward and great hunting parties assemble; the long dry spell when the villagers must turn to making sago, or go down to a fishing camp, the streams being then at their shallowest.

There are also the many new activities, not always welcome, which Government control has occasioned. The village must clear its allotted span of track with every moon; the passing of an officer means a turn out of carriers (and the Orokaiva are reputed to be as sturdy and cheerful as any in the Territory); and the approach of a patrol means a mild bustle of diligence in which the village must be made to look its best for fear of magisterial wrath. Again the Plantations scheme and the presence of a supervising officer mean labour of a somewhat new kind, which for those who live from hand to mouth seems irksome because unrepaid by immediate returns.

Now and again the recruiter of native labour passes, lays out his trade for those who will bargain to go with him, and leaves perhaps with a batch of young men to 'sign-on' for European employment. But the sadness of parting, however real, is not more moving than the demonstrative welcome at the labourer's home-coming, when his women folk, who threw themselves down and beat their foreheads on the ground for sorrow at his going, do the same again with equal violence for joy at his return.

Apart from these sources of interest, and from events of birth, marriage, and death, and again from the more startling incidents of thefts, quarrels, and occasional murders which are all but necessary to any human society, native life is varied by a number of festive and ceremonial occasions which constitute a very important part of it.

Not a few of these are associated with the rites of mourning and with the placation of the beings who survive death. When a death occurs mourners, summoned by long blasts of the trumpet, gather from far and wide to the scene and give themselves with what one suspects to be almost joyful abandon to the indulgence of grief. The house of the dead

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

292 covers the curious shame which she feels on this occasion. It is made of bark-cloth or of string netting, and is em-
589 broidered, sometimes completely covered, with the seeds
[531] known as Job's Tears. Being made and decorated with great care, however, it is later worn rather as an ornament under which the widow's charms suffer no concealment.

292 *The Widow's Vest, Baja.* This is usually a straight sleeve-
589 less shirt of knitted string completely covered with Job's
531 Tears (*Coix lachrimae*). It reaches usually to the waist but sometimes as low as to the knees. *Coix lachrimae* seeds are of two kinds, the one a delicate grey, the other fawn, and with the introduction of black and sometimes red seeds the garment may be very effectively decorated.

291 *The Bark-cloth Mantle.* This is merely a broad sheet, three feet square or more, which is wrapped round the shoulders in cold weather. It is also used very prettily by girls in the
[635] dance. Holding it by two corners, the dancer swings it to and fro as she moves or allows it to float out behind her
[631] head. The bark-cloth is gaily painted and the girl's movements are light and graceful, so that in this guise she is not ineptly called *boriri*, 'the butterfly'.

292 *Bi-kaio, the Apron.* This is a small square of knitted string which hangs from the belt in front of the body. It is worn only by old men of distinction, and is seldom seen even on
● [17] them. It may be only a partly assimilated introduction from the hill neighbours (Biagi, &c.), among whom it is certainly found more commonly. In the only example which I saw
[531] the string was knitted in patterns of red, brown, black, and white, and the fabric was decorated with black seeds and tufts of cuscus fur. W. N. Beaver mentions the *bi-kaio* in his list of *otobu*.[1]

Hair-dressing

302 The Orokaiva commonly allows his hair to grow long, and with the frequent application of coco-nut oil the close ringlets become clogged in a series of tags. The typical *coiffure* is therefore a mass of tails about the thickness of a

[1] 'Notes on Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', &c., *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 97; under *Ve Hafo*.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

lead pencil which fall about his shoulders something in the manner of the Chief Justice's wig. Notwithstanding grease and dirt, it is a distinctly becoming mode, particularly when to the profusion of his locks he adds the tassels of red-dyed *kapiya*, the transparent skin that lines the inner side of the areca spathe. To an Orokaiva his hair is assuredly felt to be a crowning glory, though it is often far from being the well-trimmed and flowing mass that I have pictured. His head is sometimes scraggy and sometimes even bald—a state which is regarded with curious aversion and attributed to some early indiscretion or ceremonial neglect.

The hair is cut short in mourning, and sometimes as a last desperate measure to free it from lice. In the former case it is an example of the self-sacrifice or self-castigation which is so common in sorrow, though a man may allow himself a little decorative effect as compensation for the loss (*vide* concentric circles on Plate XXVII). Nowadays many wear their hair short for mere convenience.

A woman's hair is dressed in the same way as a man's while she is young, i.e. with tags and red streamers. At marriage she is likely, though not bound, to cut it short; and when she has borne a child or two she will certainly do so. This I am assured is a case of modesty: a matron does not care to masquerade as a 'flapper' (and the same reason is given for the fact that married women wear comparatively few ornaments). Some informants have also suggested that a husband does not care to see his wife make herself too attractive to other men, and others that a mass of long hair interferes with the carrying of the *eti*, or string bag for taro.

Natives are clean-shaven except for some old men and some who have allowed their beards to grow in mourning. The beard is never of very strong growth. Nowadays moustaches are commonly copied from the white man and especially affected by those who have served in the Armed Constabulary. Shaving is done with a glass fragment (formerly one of quartz); with twisted fibres; and by plucking out the hairs with a bivalve for tweezers.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

smallish and in colouring resembles a brown leghorn with large sweeping tail-feathers; the hen is a neat little white or brown bird. The wings are well developed and the native fowl is often capable of flying to the top of a coco-nut palm. It is kept for eating or for its feathers; natives do not appear to fancy the eggs greatly. The cock is treasured principally on account of his long tail-feathers, which are shamelessly plucked; though natives realize that a European has queer notions regarding cruelty to dumb creatures, and more than once, inquiring about a tailless rooster, I have been assured that its feathers were torn out by a dog.

Preparation of Food

Fire-making. The indigenous method of fire-making is that of the stick and groove. From their mountain neighbours on the south the Orokaiva have learnt in recent times the saw method, with split stick and rattan. This is said to be more effective, but is not as yet very widely known.

The stick and groove method is called *kaja*, i.e. 'thrust', as, e.g., with a spear. The smaller stick is called *bi-kai* (*bi* = penis; *kai* is the root of *kaiari* or *kajari* = thrust). A shaving is peeled back on the piece of wood which acts as base. The *bi-kai* is grasped in both hands, knuckles up and thumbs down, and worked back and forth with increasing speed, till it is suddenly brought to a stop pressing into the end of the groove, where a little pile of smoking wood-dust has accumulated. If this is smouldering it is gently coaxed and blown and then transferred to a coco-nut husk. Although signed-on boys bring back matches to the villages, it is by no means to be imagined that the primitive method of fire-making has gone out of use.

Cooking. There is but one regular meal in the Orokaiva day, viz. in the evening. The housewife peels her taro and cuts it into lumps with a sharp oyster-shell or a keen-edged piece of coco-nut shell. She adds various leaves and herbs for flavouring, among the commonest being that of the taro itself, first carefully freed from its stalk and ribs. She may spray condiments out of her mouth into the pot, and finally covers it with leaves and allows it to seethe. From the

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

the mouth of the lime-pot and then into the mouth of the chewer, who sucks off the thin coating of lime powder. Usually the spatula is very indifferently carved, for the Orokaiva is no wood-carver; the few examples illustrated are of somewhat exceptional merit (Plate XIII). With the large lime-pot (*kanaŋa*) there usually goes a spatula of bone, and the two together may constitute an *otohu* or ceremonial gift made at initiation, though in use they are both appropriate to old age, and a youth or person of small consequence would not have the effrontery to use them. The old man makes a somewhat ostentatious rattling of the bone spatula against the opening of the *kanaŋa*.

Tobacco is a late introduction in the Northern Division, having preceded the European by hardly more than a generation. The evidence clearly indicates that the mountaineers behind Kokoda first brought it to the Orokaiva, and that, travelling from the neighbourhood of Kokoda, it had not reached the Mambare or the lower Kumusi by the time MacGregor first visited these rivers.[1] Its original names are said to have been *orokaiva* (or *kaiva*) and *kuku*, the last being used before the whites brought their trade tobacco, which is now known throughout the Territory as *kuku*. The name *orokaiva* has already been discussed, but with regard to the others, *kaiva* and *kuku*, it may be worth while drawing attention to the singular coincidence that the two words are joined together in the Gulf Division and indicate a masked figure, *Kaivakuku*, and that in the Northern Division they are alternative names for the same substance, native tobacco.

Several other names, more or less local, are used, viz. *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* (derived from the resemblance of the tobacco leaf to those of the *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* trees); *Masati*, which is said to be the same word as *mata*, 'stink'; and *soka*, which bears a suspicious resemblance to the name *sokwa*, commonly used for tobacco west of the Fly river, and may have been introduced by the early Kiwai police. Several varieties are distinguished. The leaf is simply sun-dried, and is smoked either in the well-known bamboo tube (*pare*) or else rolled with some leaf or other into a cigarette.

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893, pp. 31, 34.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

342 [177] village scuffles. The old-fashioned house has been for the most part replaced by the 'European' model. This does not always mean any great change, save that the new house is loftier and airier and frequently possesses an annexe or 'kitchen' which seems as a rule to serve any purpose but a culinary one. But the general improvement is undeniable. The true native dwellings of the Orokaiva were so poor that W. E. Armit, an early resident magistrate, described them as 'miserable little things, small ramshackle erections', and referred to an Opi village as 'a collection of squalid hovels'.[1]

The original Orokaiva house (*mande*) is oblong and very low. The floor proper (*gaga*) is raised on piles, but the space beneath is roughly walled in so as to form a closed compartment called *su*. Above the floor proper there is often an interior platform or shelf (*kahari*) forming, as it were, a third story under the slope of the roof, but as a rule only along one side of the house, so that it resembles a sleeping-berth more than anything else. The ridged roof is so low that a man cannot stand upright on the *gaga*. The essential part of the whole structure is the *gaga*. This is built first on strong piles of its own, and then the roof supports and the walls are built around it independently save for bindings of split cane. In some cases, indeed, the walls are wholly separate from the *gaga*, which is enclosed as it were in a box. The piles and main posts are of various hard-woods, but the other timbers are soft and far from durable. The walls of the true native house consist of rails or logs laid horizontally, but in the more modern style their place has been taken by branch-midribs of the sago palm set vertically. The thatching is of sago leaf.

The interior of the house is dark, warm, and smoky. It contains a variety of pots, wood bowls, string bags, pig-nets, water calabashes, and other domestic paraphernalia; [251] maybe several bags of *Pago* nuts, blocks of sago, and drying *Tauga* nuts attached to poles and suspended under the ridge-[252] pole. Cooking is done out of doors in fine weather, and at other times underneath the house in the *su*. In cold weather

[1] *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, pp. 90; 87.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Transport

487 *Tracks.* Altogether we are unable to claim any high degree of engineering skill or architectural taste for the Orokaiva; but in magisterial estimation the excellence of the tracks makes ample amends. These are said to compare favourably with those of any other Division, though it is doubtful whether the Orokaiva of former days bestowed any exceptional care upon them; for if left to themselves they seem, with their naked legs and hardy feet, equally indifferent to the mud of swamps or the obstacles of the road.

But nowadays in some parts and at some times—particularly before the periodical visit of the magistrate—the track may be swept and garnished and guiltless of the minutest weed; for at the behest of the village constable the men turn out with trade knives and spade-like scrapers of tin, to nick, shave, and almost polish the surface of the road.

491 *Bridges.* Formerly, I am told, stretches of swamp were spanned by single logs supported on cross-trestles. The modern type of this bridge has an adzed surface to make walking safer, and is certainly preferable to the other style (viz. a raised gangway with clumsily laid cross-pieces) until, as is so often the case, the log is found to be slippery and aslant. Small creeks are crossed by single tree-trunks, over which the native, a fearless balancer, walks without misgiving, despite the queer and disconcerting vibrations set up by his footsteps on a long log.

491 One is told of the former existence of cane-bridges swung
177 from the branches of tall trees overhanging the banks of a river. Nowadays these cobweb bridges are replaced by more workmanlike, though still somewhat precarious, fabrics, in which the cane is reinforced by steel wire. Such improvements are necessitated only by the presence of the white man, whose feet are delicately encased in boots, and who, apart from his fastidiousness regarding the mire, seems by comparison deficient in the nerve which altitude and balancing demand.

491 The rivers in their upper reaches are commonly forded. A party bound for a dance, fully armed and decorated, will

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

411 inciting to violence. The other occasions on which the *perubu* may be put to use are, I am told, the quarrels of a polygamous household.

Stone Clubs. Stone clubs are of two principal kinds, the 'pineapple' (*gishi*) and the disk (*emi*). They are made from river pebbles. The former variety has a hole through the longer axis for the haft, and its striking surface is serrated by means of longitudinal and lateral grooves, which leave a number of processes or points. The latter is more or less disk-shaped, the outer edge being ground down to a fairly sharp cutting-edge. The 'star' club (*tinge*) is not common (the word *tinge* is used of a jutting broken branch), nor is the 'egg' club (*ere*)—a plain knob with a hole through the longer axis. Club heads of quartz have been obtained in the Division, but are rarities and apparently antiquities.

The stone club was formerly made by striking and wearing down with another stone, the hole through the centre being made by a pestle-shaped pebble as striker, or what Sir Wm. MacGregor described as a small stone 'of the size and shape of a rifle bullet'. Nowadays the small pyramidal points
● [177] of the pineapple club are made by means of a white man's file. The manufacture of these weapons has almost ceased, for their use has been brought down to one of mere display. However, the Orokaiva in full dress still rejoices to carry a befeathered club on his shoulder, like a sword at the slope.

The Sling. The sling (*taiba*) is said to have been once a genuine weapon, yet the early reports contain no mention of it as being used by the hostile natives. W. E. Armit speaks of the men of the Upper Kumusi and Yodda river as 'stone-throwers and rushing natives',[1] but other stories tell of the natives sometimes attacking with no weapons save large stones which they had picked up on the track, and there is no reason to suppose that the stone-throwers mentioned by Mr. Armit threw with anything but their hands. Now, at any rate, the sling is little more than a toy, though why elderly men should sometimes carry these playthings in their bags I have not been able to discover. In the typical example the pouch is of roughly netted string

[1] *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, p. 84.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

412 pounding and rubbing. Very few nowadays remain in the villages, but those that I have seen vary considerably in size and form. So much depends on the original shape of the pebble selected and there is such an infinite variety of pebbles which a native can see are easily convertible into adze blades, that I think it would be unprofitable to attempt a classification.

Fig. 19. Hafting of Adze.

The stone adze is still used to some small extent in the hollowing of canoes, but for all other purposes the stone has yielded place to imported steel. The introduction of the steel axe and the trade knife has greatly simplified the work of gardening and building, though so far, I believe, it has not led to any great improvement in methods.

Cutting and Scraping Instruments. For small cutting instruments there are the bamboo knife (*ivi*) which is given a razor-like sharpness by simply peeling off the edge; the cockle shell which is the Orokaiva pocket knife; and the

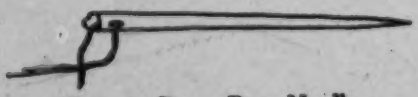

Fig. 20. *Jino* or Bone Needle.

hari, a disk of coco-nut or oyster shell with one section of its edge kept sharp, which is used for peeling taro. For scrapers the edge of a cockle shell and the thicker edge of a boar's tusk are used. There are three kinds of files: (1) a kind of pumice called *nidiri*; (2) the skin of a certain fish (*Seb*) which is dried and stretched over a slab of wood; and (3) the rough leaves of various trees.

Needles, &c. Bodkins (*poma*), which a woman wears thrust in her hair, are made of flying-fox bones. So also are needles (*jino*), the eye being made through one side of the hollow bone (Fig. 20).

Drills. Two kinds of drill are in use. The commoner is

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

take no offence at the swift and warlike movements which were so different from their own. Kove's party listened with great attention, punctuating the speech with tattoos on their drums and with the deep-toned cry, uttered simultaneously by all, and resembling a kind of hoot, which is the Orokaiva equivalent for 'hear, hear!' or 'Amen'. Kove the village constable made his address in reply, first insisting on a general silence, which he considered due to his status and uniform, and after that the hosts and guests, mutually satisfied, mingled and fell to upon the real taro.

Such a scene is common enough. It illustrates the keenness which the various sects feel in their Taro, and the welcome which is offered to the apostles. What with these, and with the impressionable character of the native, it is not surprising that a cult, which for whatever reason commends itself to native imagination, should spread rapidly and far.

The actual distribution of the Taro cult is in the main confined to the Orokaiva tribes. Northwards it seems to have stopped short of the Waria people, who while possessing many affinities with the Orokaiva, speak a different language. It is firmly established along the lower Gira, but on the middle Gira it seems to have made small headway, partly because of a minor cult of *Wo-embo*, or 'animal men', a clique of hunting magicians, and partly because of the long-established mission station at Peo.

Commencing from the mouth of the Mambare the movement seems to have spread at first in two principal directions—up the Mambare itself, and southward down the coast. Then it would seem to have penetrated inland from the coast by two principal routes—up the river Kumusi, and up the thickly populated road from Buna through Sangara to Kokoda. To the Aiga, who are a comparatively isolated tribe, the Taro cult has found its way by both these latter routes, from the east via the river Kumusi, and from the south via Wasida, a populous

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

district on the Buna–Kokoda road. The movement has long since extended beyond the boundary of the Northern Division unto the North-eastern Division on the south. After ten years it is still spreading, though with a much reduced momentum. In March of 1925 it had first reached the village of Kawawoke in the Hydrographer's valley, inhabited by a mountain people who are very distinct from the Orokaiva. It has made considerable progress down the coast, and recent parties of propagandists had even reached the mission station at Wanigela in Collingwood Bay. It is interesting to conjecture what may be the ultimate end of the Taro. It has so far made a more general appeal and displayed a greater tenacity than any other of the new religious cults of Papua.

5. *Adaptation to Old Belief*

My own investigation of the Taro cult began, without any realization of the fact, at the periphery and worked toward the centre. Consequently the opinions formed of it at Wasida, among the Aiga, and on the upper Mambare, had to be corrected, or rather broadened, to embrace the different facts which came to light in the original stronghold of the cult, viz. on the lower Mambare. However, the first impressions were not falsified by this later evidence. They remain substantially true for by far the greater area which has come under the influence of the Taro. The fact is that, in the course of its expansion, the cult has undergone a very significant change: the original doctrines of its founders have been maintained only within a limited area. These original doctrines are somewhat too unfamiliar for popular acceptance, and accordingly, as the movement has advanced beyond the personal influence of its founders, it has compromised with and adapted itself to previous native belief.

It is proposed in the present section to deal with this change, and, by a digression upon the former religious beliefs of the Orokaiva, to show that the change is a natural one.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

As he recounted them to me they were commandments against 'swearing',[1] theft, adultery, and anger, and two positive injunctions—to be like the missionaries and like the white men. He also laid down a form of service which has been well described by Mr. L. A. Flint, formerly the magistrate in charge of the Ioma District. The only record of this ceremony is the rotting wooden pillar in Manau around which the worshippers, led by Dasiga and Bia, were wont to assemble.

It is to Mr. Henry Holland that we are especially indebted for information about the Manau cult. He had several meetings with the principals which are amusing as well as instructive. On Christmas Eve of 1920 he was in the rest house at Totoadari when Dasiga sought him out and requested an outline of Christian teaching. Mr. Holland willingly complied, and when he had finished Dasiga said, 'I knew all that before'.

On the second occasion, at the old mission station of St. Andrews on the middle Mambare, Dasiga asked why the taro was not growing well. Mr. Holland made some suggestions of a horticultural nature, to which Dasiga replied, 'No, they say it is because of God's anger'. Thereupon followed a long theological discussion in which Dasiga took the part rather of a disputant than a learner. Rising finally to take his leave, in the very dignified manner of which he is capable, he burst into a volume of unintelligible gibberish. When he had finished he addressed Mr. Holland again in Binandele: 'Do you understand?' Mr. Holland confessed he did not. 'God's praise,' said Dasiga, and left him.

Some time after this Mr. Holland visited Manau and was met on the beach by one Bairi, a minor leader. He was well groomed, with his hair neatly clipped, carried a walking-stick, and greeted the visitor with an English 'Good morning'. He wished to show him a letter from Jesus Christ, he said, and produced from wrappings of calico and bark-cloth a stray missive which a neighbour-

[1] i.e. abuse, wrangling.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

ing planter had sent to the master of the launch *Misima*, asking him to call for copra. Explaining how he had come by this letter, Bairi said he had eaten a large pine-apple, and that after (apparently as the result of a disturbance less terrible than he deserved) his spirit rose up into the sky, where he saw Jesus Christ, a white man with a beard. He was informed that 'something had fallen for him', and having been conducted down from the sky by a ladder, subsequently discovered this letter. Mr. Holland was much struck by the man's earnestness in telling the story. Bairi had been instructed by Jesus to visit the Lutheran Mission on the river Waria, where apparently he merely announced himself and then returned. Jesus had also told him that he was to be 'the New Guinea Missionary'.

After this interview with Bairi, Mr. Holland entered Manau and witnessed a service led by Dasiga, who was seated on a box in the midst of the worshippers. The preacher rose to greet him but broke out again into unintelligible incantations, shaking his head, and affecting to read out of the palm of his hand. He would finish his incantation by intoning *Jesu Kerisu kaena-embo*, 'Jesus Christ the man for us'; otherwise his words were entirely meaningless. Mr. Holland asked what he saw in the palm of his hand, and was told that Christ's messages appeared there. Asked more precisely what the messages were, Dasiga replied, 'This must not be written in a book'. 'But', said the missionary, 'God is open and hides nothing.' Admitting this, Dasiga (who must have been something of a dialectician) replied by a question: 'Where do your people go when they die?' 'They sleep, then rise again and appear before God.'

'Well, it is just the same with us,' replied Dasiga, and Mr. Holland abandoned further questioning.

There seems to have been nothing of taro worship in the Manau cult, though it was made plain that the prosperity of the crops depended on a proper observance of the new rites. The *jipari*, however, was as essential

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

a feature of this as of the Taro cult. Since the establishment of the Mission Station at Manau (and later at Duvina) by Mr. S. R. M. Gill, the *jipari* has died out.

One of the important beliefs of the Manau prophets was that the *embo betari*, i.e. the dead, were coming back to visit their living friends. Dasiga had seen in a dream a fleet of steamers and canoes filled with spirits of the dead and cruising off shore at night-time. Bia, and subsequently two other men of Sanananda (another village in which the Manau cult took hold), were favoured with the same vision. But at this distance it is not easy to discover the early tenets of the Manau faith: they are probably confused in the memories even of its foremost exponents. This is especially apparent in the matter of Kekesi, the powerful spirit who watched over Mitre Rock near the Mambare mouth. Although Mr. Chinnery could elicit a circumstantial account of Kekesi, his steamer *Kesi*, and his association with the rites of Manau, yet, after only ten years, the association seems to have been forgotten. I heard no mention of Kekesi at Manau. To this farrago of Christianity at Manau contributions must have come from the long-established but distant Anglican stations at Ambase and St. Andrews, and from the Lutheran station at Morobe; and no doubt some of the aping of European habits was introduced by ex-police and indentured labourers. Nowadays, I believe, the village is wholly Christian.

11. *The Causes of the Taro Movement*

The observed facts of the Taro cult having been dealt with it is now permissible to adopt a more critical or explanatory method. Its origin and dissemination have already been treated descriptively. In this section I propose to reconsider these questions and offer certain comments.

Cultural Mutations. The Taro cult followed so closely on the *Baigona* cult that it is commonly said to have 'taken its place' when the latter was suppressed. There is, it is true, a very wide difference between their respective

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

might fairly say that, despite certain local differences, it is in all fundamental points remarkably uniform.

The external influences which bear upon this civilization are not many. The principal sources of such influence are (1) the Government and the Anglican Mission, (2) the returned indentured labourers. While many new ideas are introduced from both of these sources and take more or less permanent root, it is not necessary to believe that they have given rise to the Taro cult and its variants. The only ways, I believe, in which Government, Missions, or returned labourers can be held responsible for the cults are indirect: they are at once unsettling and repressive. Whether intentionally or no, they have a destructive influence upon old belief, and they are not always able to provide an adequate substitute for what they destroy. Further than this, they keep native passions under and block their accustomed outlets. Under such circumstances the remedy comes from within. It is as if an irritant should provoke some strong internal reaction, or an injury should call for some organic adjustment.

Granting this indirect effect of outside influences, we may claim that the Taro cult and its variants are in themselves of original growth. If, amid the social unrest which accompanies or follows European settlement, there can arise the strange and somewhat exaggerated movements of which we have seen so many examples in Papua, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in other periods of stress there should have arisen similar movements. If this be the case we may suppose that native life in the past has from time to time been subject to sudden and even revolutionary change. Nor is it perhaps necessary to assume that such changes always take place in the phase of social unrest which accompanies the clash with another culture. However this may be, the evidence of the new religious cults of Papua seems to indicate that native custom is capable of changing itself in no insignificant degree.

This view does not, of course, preclude the theory of

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

X 794 158 hospital, though there should be a rigid distinction between those who were imprisoned for offences and those who, so to speak, were recuperating after a nervous breakdown. Far be it from me to suggest that their detention should take the form of a rest-cure. After a period of wholesome, and let us hope useful, exercise the patient might be discharged with a fair degree of certainty that he would not fall ill again of the same malady. His power to resist, or at least his will to resist, would be considerably strengthened. It would be necessary to use every care and consideration lest genuine abnormals be subjected to an undeserved and perhaps useless correction; but for the rank and file who give way to *jipari*, and with whom the cause lies in a mere lack of restraint, I think a term in the observation ward would be a very salutary lesson.

The Craving for Excitement. The low standard of self-control with its attendant lack of inhibition has been mentioned as a cause of the *jipari* which admits of a practical remedy. There is another cause, or perhaps rather a favourable condition, which may be countered with an equal chance of success. I refer to the native's craving for excitement.

X 794 158 ● 177 We have seen that European influence is in some respects repressive to the native, and therefore, by blocking the way of old activities, may give rise to new and somewhat startling phenomena, in fact to what we may call social outbursts. The several ways in which our influence has exerted this repression are fairly clear. In the first place by the introduction of steel implements we have considerably reduced the hard work of the native gardener and left him with a good deal of time on his hands. Whereas he must have formerly worked off much of his surplus energy with repeated blows of a stone axe, he now strikes a few blows with a steel axe and his energy remains bottled in his bosom. A far more important consideration is the abolition of tribal warfare, by which he has lost what was probably his foremost

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

interest and what provided an outlet for his naturally fierce passions. Sir J. H. P. Murray has truly said that these two facts—the introduction of steel tools and the abolition of tribal warfare—have had a more telling effect on native life than has any other material influence for which we are responsible.[1] In the report on the Vailala Madness I made much of the decay or discouragement of ceremonies. In so far as this is taking place it is another important influence working in the same direction.

The activities which our native followed with the greatest zeal, or which, by their strenuousness, provided an outlet for his energies, are now suppressed. He is allowed more time to idle about his village and brew mischief. The Taro cult comes along with the attraction of novelty. He throws himself into it with an enthusiasm which may well astonish us. The actual shaking-fit means a complete abandonment of self; it is the most novel and exciting feature of the cult, and it is not surprising that a thoroughly bored native should make an orgy of it. There can be no doubt that in the *jipari* and other excesses the native finds some satisfaction—senseless though it be—for his pent-up feelings.

If this be the case it should follow that by providing some more sensible or attractive kind of relaxation, amusement, activity—whatever form it may take—we would profitably divert much of the nervous energy which is poured so wastefully into *jipari*. Elsewhere I have argued that if we would consider the native's happiness we must make what provision we can for his emotional satisfaction. He is now suffering from a lack of *joie de vivre*. He is not getting so much *fun* as he used to. The importance of that point may easily, I think, be under-estimated.

The older ceremonies entail no small amount of excitement, and provide a means of satisfying social feeling as

[1] J. H. P. Murray, *Native Administration in Papua* (Government Printer, Port Moresby), p. 8.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

245
244
824
177

	European Name.	*Native Name.*	*Remarks.*
Tuberous	Manioc*	*Maniota*	Very rare among Orokaiva.
	Sweet potato	*Geroia*	
	Taro	*Ba*	
	Yam	*Kai*	
Graminaceous	*Ina*	*Ina*	
	Maize *	'*Koni*', *Komona Kuku-ta-pije*	An *Andropogon*
	Sugar-cane	*Jon* (*Don*)	
Cucurbitaceous	Cucumber	?	Indigenous
	Gourd	*Sigi* (*Tigi*)	
	Pumpkin*	*Pumpkin, Batana*	
	Water-melon*	—	
Miscellaneous fruits, &c.	Bananas and plantains	*Pije* (*Bido*)	
	Pineapples*	—	
	Tomatoes*	—	Rare
Narcotics, &c.	Betel pepper	*Hingi* (*Kingi*)	*Piper betle* [249]
	Tobacco	*Orokaiva, Kaiva Kuku, Soka, &c.*	
Cultivated trees and palms	Arecs	*Sa* (*Da*)	Betel-nut palm
	Coco-nut	*Bu* (*Mutari*)	
	Lime*	*Sipore*	
	Mandarin*	—	Rare
	Mango*	*Ewa*	Rare
	Orange*	—	Rare
	Papaw*	'*Popo*', *Bitani*	
Valued trees, palms, &c.	Bark-cloth tree	*Ajimo*	Sometimes planted
	Bread-fruit	*Oga* and *Eumba*	Sometimes planted
	Fig	*Junga*	
	Hombari	*Hombari*	?
	Mango (wild)	*Ewa*	
	Pandanus	*Monga*	Used for fibre
	Pandanus (fruiting)	*Onja*	
	Puga	*Puga*	*Cycas media*
	Okari	*Tauga*	*Terminalia Okari*

* The plants marked with an asterisk are of European introduction.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

773 a yam. Now yams are best roasted; if boiled, they must be boiled with care, or they resolve themselves into a watery mash. The Orokaiva like their taro in firm lumps, and perhaps they would be ill disposed towards a new kind of food whose consistency was so little to their taste.

244 On the whole we may reasonably associate the taro with the Orokaiva, and the yam with the mountain peoples on the south and south-west; the commonness of yams among the southern Orokaiva tribes is no doubt due to a gradual infiltration. Communication between the plainsmen and the mountaineers seems to have been principally in this quarter, viz. with the Biagi, and to some extent the Managalasi. It is not improbable that the sweet potato (*Keroia*) has come from the same source: although grown quite extensively now over the whole Division, it is not held in very high favour, and, like the yam, is likely to remain wholly subordinate to the taro.

249 There can be no doubt that several other products
177 have found their way into the Orokaiva plains through this avenue, and that they were established before the advance of the white man into the Division. The principal among them is native tobacco. This is widely distributed among the Orokaiva, though nowhere grown in great quantity. It has evidently preceded the coming of the European by only a generation or two at the most (for the names of agents in its disposal are well remembered), and all informants have been in agreement as to the route it has taken, viz. from the non-Binandele-speaking Isurava or Biagi people in the neighbourhood of Kokoda, down to Oivi and Papangi; thence to the Kumusi and (within living memory) to the Aiga people of the middle Opi; and thence again to the true Binandele of the Mambare and the lower Kumusi.

249 Tobacco, as an unfamiliar product, is known by a variety of names, such as *Hajojo* and *Tonaki*, from the resemblance of its leaf to those of the *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* trees; *Soka*, a word of doubtful meaning; and *Kuku*, said to be a pre-white-man expression in the north. The

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

commonest names, however, are *Orokaiva* or *Kaiva*. I will not enter into the dispute as to the original meaning of the mysterious word *Orokaiva*, but if you pluck a tobacco leaf in a village and ask what it is called, three times out of four you will get the answer 'Orokaiva'.[1]

Associated with native tobacco is another plant of late introduction, viz. maize or 'corn'. Informants will insist that maize was known, at least in some parts of the plains, before the coming of the white man; and they lay down the same course as that of tobacco for its progress northwards. Nowadays the usual name for maize is *Koni*, a native rendering of 'corn'; but there are at least three other names which are said by some to be earlier than *Koni*; they are *Komobani* and *Tambara* (neither of which I can explain), and the picturesque compound *Kuku-ta-pije*, literally, 'tobacco-banana', which implies a likeness between corn-cob and banana and perhaps a simultaneous introduction of corn and tobacco. As it appears certain that corn was introduced to this country by the white man, we have another instance in which the introduction has outstripped the introducer.[2]

Lastly, it was claimed by some that the papaw and the pumpkin had come down from the hill people in the same way. Both these are European introductions, and if the claim be a true one, then we have a somewhat remarkable proof of the rapidity with which an introduced product may spread by contact—provided always that, like corn, it is a welcome addition to the native's *menu*. Of the more important products sugar-cane, sago, and some varieties of plantain are probably indigenous in the true sense of the word. The better kind of areca palm is said to be introduced, but there are wild varieties in the bush. The coco-nut, most domesticated of trees, seems to follow in the train of the human wanderer, thriving and rejoicing, as they say, in the sound of his voice.

The legend has it that the coco-nut was first a girl.

[1] This at any rate among Waside, Aigs, and Binandele people.
[2] Cf. *Papua*, J. H. P. Murray, p. 103.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

'boo' which another little boy said in another version of the story.[1]

Regarding the betel palm there is an old story of a liaison with a village woman. Nightly the betel palm bends down over her house to visit her, and every morning, when the birds are waking, bends slowly back to stand once more as a silent palm, but leaving around the house a litter of small flowers. Every morning the wife is seen sweeping these aside, till at last suspicions are aroused: the little boy hides behind a tree to spy; the betel palm is discovered in his intrigue and chopped down by the jealous husband. Collapsing he cries, 'Now I am no longer a man but a mere betel palm: take these nuts and eat them,' and he scatters bunches for all the tribes of the north.

The betel pepper grows wild in the bush, and there is a plausible though no doubt imaginative tale of how its properties were discovered. Formerly the areca or betel-nut was chewed with lime alone, and the chewer had not the pleasant hot flavour of a condiment nor the highly becoming colour of red in his mouth. But once a solitary hunter speared a pig, and sat down on the scene of his exploit to refresh himself with lime and betel. Then he looked about him for the wherewithal to bind the pig to a pole. With the usual extempore resource, he dragged down a liana from a near-by tree, and worrying and biting it through with his teeth, by way of the handiest implements he had, discovered as he thought that his mouth was full of blood. But he soon reassured himself, and understood that the redness was due to nothing more than the mordant, peppery juice of the creeper, which had mixed with his mouthful of lime and betel. After this follows the happy scene in which he acquaints his people with the discovery, and the general inauguration of a very ugly habit.

There are other tales of other products, more interest-

[1] 'Coco-nut', in Wanida dialect, *a*; Alga, *bu*; Bicandele *mutari*. *Mutari-mu-turi*, i.e. 'to say "mu"'.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

ing than informative. However they may have been acquired, there is a fair range of food products at the disposal of the Orokaiva. The most essential of them have been his since time immemorial; those that he has acquired—either directly or through the agency of the mountain folk—from Europeans serve only to garnish his table. The most important among them are maize—which is a favourite though not grown in great quantity—some varieties of sweet banana, pineapples, and pumpkins. The last mentioned, although grown very commonly, are not really liked: villagers are always anxious to sell them to the white man. An informant once interrupted a conversation to remark that melons, tomatoes, 'pummerkins', and the rest of them, were all humbug; why did not the Government leave the New Guinea men to plant taro, yams, bananas, and sugar-cane, their proper food? It is fortunate that such an extreme view is not often met with; but the Government is prepared to expect a conservative opposition to nearly every new product which it seeks to encourage. It can only be said, very obviously, that, to be spontaneously successful, a new product must, in the primitive condition of native horticulture, be grown with a minimum of effort, and must happen to make an appeal to native taste. Otherwise, as in the case of the new experiment, rice, the work must be compulsory.

4. *The Land System*

Before we can fully understand the system of using the land, it is necessary to describe the system under which it is owned. Among the Orokaiva there is a multiplicity of small clans, which from time to time increases by subdivision (a process which is in part neutralized by the dying out of older clans). Now the land is owned in reality by the clan. The fact that very commonly the clan is a local unity, being often coincident with the single village, makes this system a simple one in the normal instance. Sometimes, however, the clan is somewhat

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

sonified perhaps in the Agricultural Expert, and with the patience as well as the invective powers of the original, to arrest this gradual spread of the long grass. 137 241

While we may absolve the land system, viz. the Rotation of Areas, from direct responsibility for the deforestation of the northern plains, it will be obvious that it is in other respects a very wasteful one, especially in that it requires so great an extent of land to support the individual. Perhaps a more serious objection to the system is its unsettling influence on the social life of the natives. These questions will be referred to again. In the meantime I may proceed to describe the routine of the native garden.

6. *The Horticultural Routine*

(*a*) *Preparation of Ground and Fertilizing.* The ideal ground for planting is, in native estimation, absolutely bare. The debris of undergrowth and dried leaves is brought together in heaps and burned. The ash is ordinarily left where it stands in little piles; but a more than usually neat gardener would gather it up and throw it away into the bush. 241

I have come upon a whole village preparing ground for rice on the river Eia. The rice was a Government experiment; the village constable was a smart man and conscientious, and the whole community was with him in desiring to do its best to make the rice a success and to earn the approbation of the magistrate. Consequently they had taken somewhat unusual pains in preparation for the planting. When I saw it the earth was almost as bare, brown, and vegetationless as a State School playground. The litter of dry leaves, grass, and so forth was being meticulously removed, and, where some had been burnt, even the ashes were scraped together into wooden pig-dishes, carried off, and, with exemplary tidiness, thrown into the river. [177]

This practice of removing all waste vegetable material from the ground may mean that there is less weeding to

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

000 economic complexity. We have noted the absence of any developed division of labour or co-operation among the Orokaiva; and not only economically, but socially as well, there is too much of an even tone or a dead level among them. Such a condition is not progressive. If we would wish to see a home-grown development of native civilization, it must lie in the direction of differentiation of labour and the evolution of social grades. These are somewhat beyond our immediate scope, but the intermediate or preparatory stage is, I believe, the more intensive culture of the soil by a firmly established rural settlement.

(*c*) *Practical Suggestions.* It is futile to dwell upon the hypothetical results of intensive culture and closer settlement without considering how these latter may be brought into being. There are several subjects of obvious importance, viz.:

1. Tools.
2. Rotation of crops.
3. Instruction.

I propose to deal with these rather shortly.

241 412 (1) *Tools.* The horticulture of Papua has not even reached the stage of *Hackbau.* It is incomparably inferior to that of Africa or the East, and principally, no doubt, for the reason that our natives have never used a hoe. 'Imperfect tools tend to perpetuate the lower stage.'[1] Our first business, if we would educate the native gardener, is to place an implement in his hand. At present [177] he is indebted to us for a knife and a steel axe. These have made the work of clearing easier, and have left him with more time on his hands. His gardening tool proper is still the digging-stick. It is true that certain tools are provided for native plantations, but it is understood that what this report endeavours to advocate is an improved village horticulture, irrespective of the native plantations,

[1] Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, vol. i, p. 91 (Macmillan). Quoted in Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 96.

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

there would be a violent thunderstorm. From the black clouds would dart vivid flashes of lightning, and there would fall a deluge of rain. Then a furious gale was to arise which would work untold havoc in certain places along the coast. The foundations of the earth would be shaken, and, as a result of the earthquake, an eruption would take place in the middle of the bay between Wagawaga and Gabugabuna, causing a new island to appear above the waves. In consequence a tidal wave would arise and spread further desolation and engender the submergence of all the coasts thereabout for two or three months. Thus destruction would be the lot of the unbeliever, but those would be spared who complied with the behests of the Spirit, as transmitted by the prophet. First and foremost, no man might possess anything introduced by the *dimdim* (white man). He must part with his treasured matchboxes, tomahawks, knives, and other appliances, which rendered life pleasant or reduced toil; for these objects were the symbols of foreign domination, and in the new era old ways would be re-established. There would be a reversion to the stone age, implying the revival of ancient wont and custom and of the religion of their forefathers. New things must pass away, and the golden age of the past must be resuscitated in the present. As an outward and visible sign of the state of grace the faithful were to wear in their armlets a *bisare*, or long narrow ribbon of leaf that almost reached the ground. Finally, they were to burn their houses and take to the highest peaks in the ranges,—for, like the cities of the plain, the old habitations were to be swept out of existence by the catastrophes of nature. As the houses of foreigners are generally built close to the shore, it would seem as though the wheat was to be removed with the tares, since the tidal wave could scarcely be expected to discriminate between the two types of houses. The faithful villagers of Gabugabuna actually left their old village on the shore and built new houses not more than half a mile inland, but on the same level. They were told to go inland. And they did. But it did not occur to these faithful souls, or to their prophet, that the mundane laws of hydrostatics would inevitably cause their new abode to be flooded if the coast were submerged. Such is unreasoning faith. When the catastrophe was past, the wind would change to the south-east, the quarter from which blow refreshing winds during the greater part of the year, and the land would be covered with gardens of yams, taro, and other native food, and the trees would be laden with delicious fruits. The south-east wind would waft a huge vessel into their

4: Chinnery & Haddon E-5 (ca. 1915)1917
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

east of New Guinea. I think we can confidently attribute the coincidences to the fact that the two fishing populations have been affected in an analogous manner by the social unrest, and have also been more or less imbued with the Christian religion, the latter being especially evident in the Saibai cult. The prayers and exhortations were described to me as being "all the same as missionary talk," and the Christian God is acknowledged as supreme, working His will mainly through the instrumentality of the Spirits of dead islanders. One expression that was used, "Jesus on top, Jesus here," was meant to convey the idea that, though Jesus is in heaven, he is at the same time on earth, in communion with the believers in the new doctrine. There is no doubt that the leaders have so interwoven ideas derived from the Christian religion with racial animosity and a recrudescence of the vague ancestor cult of heathen times as to deceive, if not themselves, at all events their fellow islanders.

668
177
182

A. C. HADDON.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.